

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 4767

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: DIVERGENCES BETWEEN MELO ANTUNES AND COPCON DOCUMENTS

REFS: (A) LISBON 4511 DTG 081320Z AUG 75

(B) LISBON 4674 DTG 141746Z AUG 75

SUMMARY: THERE ARE AREAS OF SERIOUS DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MELO ANTUNES MANIFESTO AND THE DOCUMENT PREPARED BY COPCON OFFICERS. THESE INCLUDE RADICALLY DIFFERING CONCEPTS OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND THE ECONOMY. HOWEVER, THE EVEN STRONGER PRESSURES TO REASSERT SOME SEMBLANCE OF AFM UNITY AND MUTUAL DISLIKE OF THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD ENABLE ARTFUL DRAFTERS WITHIN THE MELO ANTUNES GROUP TO PAPER OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES. THE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT ARE, HOWEVER, FUNDAMENTAL AND WILL REAPPEAR. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE OPPOSING DOCUMENTS PREPARED BY THE MELO ANTUNES GROUP

AND THE AUTHORS OF THE COPCON "BLUEPRINT FOR A POLITICAL PROGRAM" INCLUDE AREAS OF OBVIOUS AGREEMENT:

- THEY AGREE THAT THE SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS REQUIRES REASSERTION OF THE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM).
- THEY AGREE THAT THE PCP IS THE PRINCIPAL CULPRIT AMONG THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THAT THE PCP HAS EXERTED UNDUE INFLUENCE UPON THE AFM AND THE GOVERNMENT.
- THEY AGREE THAT CHANGES MUST BE MADE IN THE INFORMATION/MEDIA SECTOR.

2. BUT THE TWO DOCUMENTS ALSO REVEAL BROAD AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT.

(A) ON REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP:

- THE MELO ANTUNES DOCUMENT AFFIRMS THAT THE AFM, INDEPENDENT OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES BUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR VIEWS, MUST DEFINE THE BLUEPRINT FOR THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. THE PATH TO SOCIALISM SELECTED MUST NOT VIOLATE THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

- THE COPCON DOCUMENT HOLDS THAT THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM HAS ALREADY BEEN DEFINED. IT IS A BLUEPRINT BASED UPON A FIRM ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE AFM BASED UPON POPULAR ASSEMBLIES AT ALL LEVELS.

(B) ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

- THE MELO ANTUNES DOCUMENT ARGUES FOR CONTINUED STRONG TIES WITH EUROPE, INCLUDING STRONG LINKS WITH THE EEC AND EFTA; BROADENED RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD; IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE; AND DEVELOPMENT, WITH OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES, OF A "MEDITERRANEAN STRATEGY."
- THE COPCON DOCUMENT CALLS FOR THE ALIGNMENT OF PORTUGAL WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND AN END TO SUBSERVIENCE TO WESTERN EUROPE.

(C) ON THE ECONOMY:

- THE MELO ANTUNES DOCUMENT, ALTHOUGH NOT ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION DIRECTLY, DOES VIEW PORTUGAL AS PART OF THE LARGER INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM. IT SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING OF TIES WITH THE EEC AND EFTA.

- THE COPCON DOCUMENT SEES THE PRIMARY GOAL OF PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC POLICY AS AGRICULTURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND FINANCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE "IMPERIALIST WEST." ACCEPTANCE OF EEC AND EFTA AID IS SPECIFICALLY REJECTED.

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3. COMMENT: THESE DIFFERENCES ARE SIGNIFICANT. BUT THE PRESSURES TO REESTABLISH SOME SEMBLANCE OF AFM UNITY PLUS THE PRONOUNCED ANTI-COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS OF LEADING ELEMENTS OF BOTH THE MELO ANTUNES GROUP AND THE RADICAL COPCON OFFICERS -- INCLUDING GENERAL OTELO SARAVA DE CARVALHO -- ARE EVEN STRONGER. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE MELO ANTUNES GROUP AND OTELO HAVE ALREADY WORKED OUT A COMMON PROGRAM. THE COPCON DOCUMENT MAY HAVE BEEN

A SMOKESCREEN DESIGNED TO ALLOW OTELO MANEUVERING ROOM. EVEN SO,
ITS CONTENTS REFLECT A POINT OF VIEW WHICH ENJOYS SUPPORT BOTH
WITHIN THE LEFT WING OF THE AFM AS WELL AS BROAD SEGMENTS OF THE
ULTRA-LEFT. THESE GROUPS WILL NOT BE PUT OFF INDEFINITELY BY
THE PAPERING OVER OF FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES NO MATTER HOW
ARTFULLY DONE. THESE DIFFERENCES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY REEMERGE.
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